1:Franken et al M, G-5 (ca. 1913-1948)1960
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for the concept of 'godhead' or 'deity'. That translation gives Widi a personal character, more so, perhaps, than is anchored in Balinese thought itself. Sometimes the terminology corresponds even more closely to that of Islam. It has been said, for example, that 'the One God Allah' is invoked at the lotus-seat in the household temple.

The fact that people on Bali are occupying themselves with this question of the oneness of Widi is probably not without connection to the present political situation. Bali is now a part of a state by far the most of whose inhabitants are Moslems. Hence the Balinese are a religious minority. That fact makes them sensitive regarding religious freedom, and again and again there are statements, in the press and elsewhere, that give them cause for concern. For example, it was said in a leading Indonesian weekly a few years ago that if the Moslems won the majority in parliament and the constituent assembly in the impending elections Indonesia could be made a Moslem state. The reaction from Bali was not long in coming. Its writer asked what was actually meant by the term 'Moslem state'. Was religious liberty to be abolished by a simple majority vote? The Moslems undoubtedly had the power to do so. Would they then force the followers of other religions to embrace Islam? The writer closed with an appeal to the love of their common fatherland, for which adherents of all the various religions had made sacrifices, and with praise for the wise policy of the government, which left everyone free in his religion.[9]

Around the same time the rumour circulated that the government would only allow religions which "have a prophet, have a holy book, and are generally recognized ..." In parliament a Balinese member then raised the question whence the government would derive the right to stipulate such conditions. These discussions prompted a Moslem writer to argue that an appeal to religious freedom and democracy would lead to religious anarchy. All sorts of wild sects were springing up; did the government have to tolerate that? And as far as Bali was concerned, its religion could not be considered as the 'Hindu-Buddhist religion', with

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
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musicians, and even squirrel-chasers, to the great agricultural, fishing, village, and ward associations that control the internal government of the communities. Every one of their activities is managed, not individually, but communally, with every active member having a vote and a voice in every enterprise. Naturally, individualism did not develop in the strict communalistic society; individual names are hardly ever used and they call one another "brother," "father," "teacher," or "grandfather." All art is anonymous and only recently have painters begun to sign their works, owing entirely to the influence of Europeans. This, however, did not kill individuality of expression; it is easy to detect the authorship of a certain painting or a sculpture if one is familiar with the author's work, every notable actor or dancer has his own unmistakable way of performing standard dances or improvising lines for a play, and no two orchestras play alike.

In the larger towns and in the districts where the princes held sway, landownership became more individualistic, but elsewhere the right of landed property is not recognized as absolute and an undesirable member of the community cannot hold property given to him or to his ancestors against the will of the village council. A landowner cannot sell his property within the jurisdiction of the village without authorization from the council and it can be confiscated if he misuses it or if he abuses his privileges.

Instead of the familiar exploitation, enslavement, and economic inequality imposed on the population by a ruling class of aristocrats or bureaucrats so often found in countries where the government is centralized in individuals, in Bali we find an economically independent majority that is truly democratic because every representative villager, regardless of his caste or his wealth, is an active member of the village council with an equal voice in village affairs and with equal duties to perform. The government of the villages remained impersonal and with a minimum evidence of even its existence, because power was equally divided among the members of the various councils, and the executive officials, such as *kliangs*, council heads, treasurers, and so forth,

4:Belo E-5 (1931-1939) 1949 OF7 Bali OF7

jective meaning for the participants than do the masked plays. Yet there is no sharp line to be drawn between the two sorts of appearances; a man who has been playing in the Barong may be possessed by the god of the Rangda; a woman may find herself late at night stabbing with a kris at her breast as if she were a man or carried away in a trance state, speaking as the Rangda.

There is a strong point of difference here between Balinese culture and many primitive societies in which the enactment of the masked supernaturals is a strictly male prerogative, women are excluded from participation but are present as audience, and the children, too, up till adolescence. (In Hopi and Zuni, for example, among American Indians; in Australian bull roarer initiation ceremonies.) In such societies, initiation into the knowledge of the secret of the mask performers constitutes a validation of the masculine role, a landmark in the boys' development. In Bali the point of difference is not to be attributed only to the relative advancement of these people, the non-primitive, complex nature of their culture, but to an intrinsic qualitative difference, a special point of Balineseness.

An immensely important feature of Balinese culture, one which is deeply characteristic of these people and which continually arises in any analysis of their ritual and of patterned behavior, is the crossing of sex roles. The sex

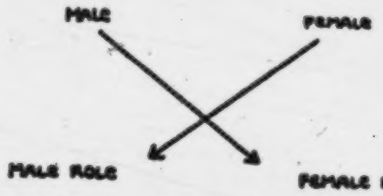

FIGURE 2. CHART INDICATING TREND TOWARD CROSSING OF SEX ROLES.

roles cross; they merge into an undifferentiated male female type and again are separated; there is a redivision of the sexes, which restores the polarity between them. These continual convergences and redivisions of the sexes are a part of their thinking, and much of the feeling at a deeper level, expressed in behavior, follows these lines. A chart of the relationships, overtly and covertly expressed, would look like this.

But, as the Balinese know, it is not so simpel as this. From the undifferentiated male female entity must again be separated off the male and female elements. The child, at first undifferentiated, repeats the motif.

This new being, created out of the union of the separated male and female

4:Belo E-5 (1931-1939) 1949 OF7 Bali OF7

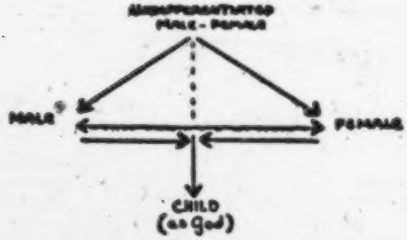

FIGURE 3. CHART INDICATING REESTABLISHMENT OF THE POLARITY AND EMERGENCE OF THE CHILD AS GOD.

elements, is like a god, and a god is like a child. It is the descendant, in a straight line, from the undifferentiated male female element, which will again divide as either its male or its female potential is realized.

Thus the whole picture could be schematized in this fashion.

The crossing of sex roles (there are in Bali both male and female transvestites) is one of the possibilities afforded by the culture. There is a definite high valuation placed upon the godly figure which combines the characteristics of both sexes, Sang Hyang Toenggal, The Solitary, or Tjintija, who preceded the separation of male and female in Balinese cosmology. He is, in time, before all the gods, before Siva, Brahma, and Vishnu. And, as each such god is in Bali, he is thought of as Man and Wife (*lanangistri*, or, Sanskrit *ardhanarisvara*).*

The complementary principle is stated and restated. Through the union of male and female, a child is created. The child, however, is once more of uncertain sex—at least up until birth. It is, so to speak, in a direct line of descent from Sang Hyang Toenggal for it contains the potentialities of both the sexes. The most godlike infants are male and female twins, said to be *ardhanarisvara*, man and wife, already married in the womb. Such twins are magically dangerous and make the village unclean (*sebel*) if they are born to people of low caste. For people of high caste they are a good sign for the boy is born like a god; he brings his wife with him out of the womb; he marries his sister. In this, the Balinese boy and girl twins repeat the theme of the Balinese legendary "original couple" who came together out of a coconut blossom.†

* Radhakrishnan, speaking of Hinduism in India, says, "Marriage is regarded as sacred. The very gods are married. When the Hindu descends from the adoration of the Absolute and takes to the worship of a personal god, his god has always a consort. He does not worship a bachelor or a virgin. Siva is *ardhanarisvara*, and his image signifies the cooperative, interdependent, separately incomplete but jointly complete masculine and feminine functions of the supreme being" (Radhakrishnan, 1927).

† Belo, 1935.

6: Belo E-5 (1931-1934) 1935
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ment has a lively, if haphazard, character, brought about by the enthusiasm of the various individuals working together virtually without a leader. One has the impression that it is fear of angering his fellows which prevents the Balinese from assuming a dominant attitude towards persons outside of his familiar group.

When anger does appear, it usually follows the pattern of the Malay "running amok," also recognized in Bali. The literature is filled with episodes in which a man, even a prince or Radja, who is overcome with grief or thwarted in his desires, "becomes confused in his mind, and retires to his sleeping-apartment, where he lies for many days and many nights, refusing both food and drink." This brooding state is the first stage in the pattern, when the man remains alone, nursing his grievances, until he has worked himself into a trance-like state, and he will have the strength to rush out and commit deeds of violence. Tales of warriors describe the stirring up of anger before going into combat; and all war dances have brooding passages interspersed between the gestures and expressions of fierce and terrifying advance. Bravery in itself is not highly valued. It is considered more natural for a man to be under the sway of fear than of anger. A man shows no embarrassment over his fear—he says quite simply "I do not dare," whether the project in question is a midnight visit to the graveyard, or climbing a coconut tree on a day of the astrological calendar when it is forbidden. The things which a man will not dare to do are those which the experience of his forbears have shown to be unwise, and to behave with intrepidity without good reason would be to court disaster, not only for himself but perhaps for the whole community.

Deviants

We have seen that in such a social scheme each individual has his place, and he has only to do what is expected of him to fit with nicety into the life of the group. But there are occasions when an individual finds it impossible to conform, and at these times disturbance and maladjustment appear. Certain temperaments, for instance, are not amenable to the national habit of submissive obedience. Women with fiery dispositions may run away from their husbands, taking shelter with their own families, and refusing to return, or departing with a lover.[11] A small boy of eight told the following story of his

[11] For cases of runaway wives see the author's "Study of a Balinese Family," *American Anthropologist*, 1936, XXXVIII, No. 1 (in press).

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156 rebellion against his father's authority, the events described having
543 occurred when he was no more than six or seven:
598 "My father beat my mother too hard, and I became too angry.
689 Then my father beat me very hard. I followed him when he went out to work in the ricefields. I took money from the pocket of his jacket which he had laid down on the edge of the fields. I ran away. For a month I did not go home.

"With the money I bought rice in the market, and I stayed out all day in the rice fields, and I never saw my father and my mother.
[604] At night I would go into the house of one of my other fathers (uncles) and sleep with the children. My father and mother did not know where I was. Then one day my mother saw me. She wept, and begged me to come home. I went home.

"My father was only silent."

In this encounter, since the father did not beat him on his return, the child seems to have triumphed over the man.

159 Another deviant is Madé, who rebelled not so much against
156 paternal authority as against the prescribed rules of tradition. He
689 is a young man of impulsive temperament, with ways unusually quick and nervous in a Balinese, quick to laugh and quick to be angered, extremely efficient when engaged in tasks which interest him, lazy and unreliable at all other tasks. Born in a small hamlet far from the town, and at several miles' distance from the motor road, he decided when still a boy to become a chauffeur. He left his farmer parents, and went to live with relatives in the town. There he attended school, learned to speak Malay, and began to pick up from older boys the knowledge of his chosen trade. He served his apprenticeship with them, receiving their teaching in return for the performance of menial duties. When he had sufficient knowledge, he in turn got a job as chauffeur, and was able to marry, buying with the money he earned the rice which he had not been able to raise on his family land. (So strong is the farming background in
[463] Balinese life that any man who has had employment and loses it automatically goes back to tilling the land until he can find new work.) Although Madé is skillful as a driver and mechanic, he is not very successful. The very qualities which made him turn from the environment and occupation to which he was born, and to which his forbears had for generations conformed, impede his progress as a chauffeur. He refuses to carry out orders unless it pleases him. He is impatient with any part of his work which is not mechanical.

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He will drive tirelessly for several hundred miles, and cheerfully apply himself to any necessary repairs in a breakdown. But if after a short journey he is asked to lift out a parcel from the car, he calls another to do it for him—a very unusual thing in Balinese who are not of high caste, as they are universally reluctant to ask their equals to serve them. Another unusual quality is his lack of the sense of relaxation common to most Balinese. Generally they will sit for hours without impatience, waiting for something to happen, and they seem to find pleasant the state of doing nothing. Often they drop off to sleep. But Madé could not be left alone for ten minutes in a car; he would be off on some errand of his own, to bargain for coconuts or to flirt with some pretty girl at a market stall. He took rebukes from his masters with ill grace, flaring up in insolence, or sulking and glowering to himself. To cover up his impetuosity and his shirking of explicit orders, he developed habits of dishonesty. All these things caused him to make an unsatisfactory chauffeur, and he repeatedly lost his position, whether he worked for Europeans, or for Chinese or Arab car owners. He is an impulsive spender, vain about his costume and the prestige afforded him by his possessions. The money that he earns is soon gone, and he will probably never save enough, as many of the young men do, to buy a secondhand car of his own. This is the case of an unusually ill-adapted Balinese. It is curious to note that such a type cannot adjust itself to the new order any more than to the old. He makes many friends and many enemies among the Balinese. Men and women respond to his spontaneous charm, his vivacity and gayety as a companion. But in his friendly relations he is always getting into trouble, for he will not stick to the rules of the game.

The Force of Tradition

It is in contemplating the character of such a man that one realizes, in contrast, how closely the majority of the Balinese do conform to the scheme laid down by tradition, and how well-mannered, balanced, and relaxed they appear. The babies do not cry, the small boys do not fight, the young girls bear themselves with decorum, the old men dictate with dignity. Every one carries out his appointed task, with respect for his equals and superiors, and gentleness and consideration for his dependents. The people adhere, apparently with ease, to the laws governing the actions, big and small, of their lives. Since the material conditions of their existence have remained for